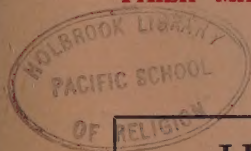


# THE FRONTIER

A CHRISTIAN COMMENTARY ON THE COMMON LIFE

EDITED BY  
PHILIP MAIRET AND ALEC VIDLER



JULY 1952  
Vol. III No. 7

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TENSIONS IN EUROPE

•  
CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND  
THE WELFARE STATE

•  
AMERICAN PRESIDENTS  
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# THE FRONTIER

A CHRISTIAN COMMENTARY ON THE  
COMMON LIFE

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Vol. III. No. 7.

JULY 1952

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## Monthly Letter

EUROPEAN tension during the last month was intensified by the fact that Western Germany and the Atlantic Powers had finally signed their Contractual Agreements. These arrangements, if ratified, amount in substance to peace at last between the Western world and three-quarters of the German people, who will enjoy a much larger and increasing degree of national autonomy. Against this must be set a sharpening of their division from 17 million Eastern Germans, who expect to be subjected to harsher tutelage from their Moscow-managed Government, and have already suffered something from it. To good Europeans who have long hoped and worked for the re-integration of their Continent, the treaties represent a potential advance towards their goal, unsatisfactory but at least better than anything yet achieved. "Here," as Mr. Eden said at Bonn, "we close, we believe, a war and its aftermath: but these signatures can do much more than that. They can open a window upon the future and give Europe a chance to free itself from the wars that have tortured two generations." Whether the belief expressed by Mr. Eden will be justified depends upon the spirit in which the agreements are ensured, in France, Germany and Britain.

On the surface the signs are not too good. Formulas that would not offend have been hard to frame: the statesmen



have had to do a great deal of patching and trimming to produce treaties that could be signed. That they were possible at all is owed to the keen and persistent labours of a minority of international peacemakers, inspired by the vision of a co-operative Europe, whose gratification is tinged with disappointment. Most of them feel that the necessary agreements on practical means ought not to have begun with defence, but rather to end with it. It was the long successive failures—or quite inadequate successes—in co-ordinating economic and political policies which, by lowering morale and fomenting fear and suspicion, finally precipitated an accord that was at bottom military. No wonder that, as one observer said, the documents were signed in an atmosphere of suspicion, reluctance and some sordid intrigue. Yet in spite of all, the movement towards European unity has again shown the underlying strength of a historical necessity. To look below the surface at the opposing forces is to be impressed chiefly by their weakness and division.

### *The German Reaction*

The one consistent opposition, that of the Cominform, has for some time been a failing force in western Europe; and German agreement with the West will have discouraged more than energized it. Germany's mental resistance is indeed profound for national reasons, and the Adenauer Government's persistence in completing the Agreements has been accompanied by a decline in its popularity. The Social Democrats dislike any commitment to the West and distrust the measure of re-armament that it imposes. But they are at least equally antagonistic to Communism; and although about one in three of the nuclei of the German trade associations are red, an industrial revolt on this political issue would be foreign to the tradition of German labour. German opposition to the course their Western Government has taken reflects, as a whole, the post-war discouragement which makes Germans, who are practically unanimous



in wanting peace and territorial reunion, incapable of a majority view about the means to either. And they had one very real reason for liking the Contractual Agreements less as they drew nearer—the fear that they would make the loss of the Eastern Zone permanent and, at least for the near future, rigorously separate friends and relatives on either side of the iron curtain—a barrier which it has often been possible to slip through, especially *viâ* Berlin. The “sealing” of the Zonal frontier and other repressive measures have already been accompanied by many deportations of families and individuals resident near the line of demarcation, in spite of a courageous appeal by the Evangelical Church of Germany. This Church, the one remaining all-German institution, is itself painfully involved in the sealing of the frontier, which it had always feared would follow such action as the Adenauer Government has taken. The human suffering to be expected damps the gratification of those Germans who worked for the treaties, but it will not extinguish their hopes. And if the Soviet’s inhuman measures are meant to persuade the Germans not to ratify the treaties, the resentment they arouse is much more likely to have the opposite effect.

### *France seeks Security*

The fears of the French about the policy to which they are now more deeply committed go quite as deep, although they have been its chief advocates. They would never have done so much to push the Federal idea had they not believed that Britain must join in it; and their enthusiasm for the Strasbourg Assembly, the Schuman plan for heavy industry, and for the European Defence Community has with difficulty survived the realization that Britain would go no further than to be an associate-member. Without the counterweight of Britain, Germany might well dominate a Federal Union by sheer numbers and industrial power; or, worse still, having acquired sovereignty and armament as a unit of the Federation, what if Germany should repudiate

membership, leaving France exposed as before? Last-minute safeguards against these apprehensions were extracted from Britain and the U.S.A., but there can be no ultimate security against such possibilities so long as European nationalists think and feel as such, fostering the suspicions and animosities of the past instead of cherishing the vision of co-operation. Even now there are said to be Frenchmen who welcome the Agreements just concluded, not as Europeans, but because they think the real effect will be to make the division of Germany irrecoverable and its enmity never again a danger! The truth is that, although the historic destinies of the European nations are now inescapably conjoined, the aspiration to fulfil them together is as yet a fitful flame. The joyful acceptance of their common fate, which would make it also providential, is still far to seek. The halting political steps taken towards this are chiefly dictated by events and because any other policy is lacking. What alternative has France, for instance? Communism is impossible, and what General de Gaulle represents is, after all, chiefly of domestic importance. In foreign policy he opposed the Agreements because a European political authority ought to have preceded any European Defence Community—but most Frenchmen think so too. There is little reason to suppose that his own line in European affairs would differ substantially from that pursued by recent French Governments.

### *The British Attitude*

If Britain has not the same feeling of urgency about Europe, the obvious reason is that her sense of an imperial mission, strengthened through several generations, has never been weakened by a major defeat. It has only been shaken very recently by the realization that the last thirty-five years have not only transformed the world-political structure but modified the nature of British responsibilities and opportunities in it. It is naturally harder for Britain than for the continental nations to feel conscious of an organic

relation to Europe, or to accept a more intimate part in its affairs with positive conviction, especially as the economic implications are of no clear or immediate promise. Hesitant as it has been at times, however, the British attitude to European developments is better now that it is more clearly defined, and the present Contractual Agreements are more safe to be ratified in Britain than elsewhere.

Nor can it be said that British statesmen have been slower than others in realizing the new need for co-operation with our nearest neighbours. Churchill, Smuts, Bevin, Eden and Atlee have all at critical moments shown leadership in the cause to which Europe is now more than half committed; and in this country there is not so much actual opposition as scepticism, insularity and inability to adapt our outlook to the new situation. Most of the public owes what little realization it has of these things to the widely-spaced pronouncements of a few prominent statesmen. A writer in *The Economist*, calling attention to the fact that about ten times as many speeches on this subject are reported in America, asks why it is so neglected by nearly all M.P.s, trade union leaders and others who are mainly responsible for the formation of public knowledge. In such a situation, this is a serious gap in the national defence.

Is this also a gap in the defence of Christianity? We have been well warned, by our most clear-headed theological teachers, not to make the mistake of identifying Christianity with "the West". Others warn us not to under-estimate the reality of the Communist determination to destroy all existing religions as reactionary superstitions and enthrone their own dogmatic theory and practice of life. The present world conflict is clearly a spiritual engagement, a mortal argument about the nature and destiny of man; and this does not mean—for Christians it cannot mean—that they or anyone else can contract out of the struggle as something going on on a lower plane. On the contrary, it means that we are all in it, affecting the issue by everything we do, say and think. Because Christ has overcome the world, the

course of mankind has been changed, and one consequence is that the nature of war itself has been transformed. There never was a world-war before, still less an ideological one.

### *The Nature of Cold War*

On this point Commander Stephen King-Hall hits upon a true idea in the course of an otherwise rather slap-dash commentary upon Dr. Garbett's recent book.<sup>1</sup> He says that the babel of contradictory Christian pronouncements upon "our duty in war" (a bewildering anthology could be made of these, including Lambeth Conference conclusions) is due to a general slowness in realizing what has happened to war. War has evolved rapidly from being an ordeal by battle between the servitors of kings and dynasties, through the stages of national conscription and "total war" to what we call "cold war"—the last being a fateful consequence of the now super-national, universal relationships of the human race. It is accompanied by the appearance of new weapons of correspondingly unlimited power. One consequence of a time-lag in the appreciation of this situation is that people still think emotionally about "winning a war" by destroying the enemy's forces as a possibility when this has no longer a real meaning. Their better informed leaders, including the military scientists, are fully persuaded that either victory or defeat would now destroy all that men suppose they would be fighting to preserve; and indeed many others fear this. "Cold war" or "containment", as Western thinkers prefer to call their own corresponding policy—is the attempt of both parties to cope with this formidable situation. Commander King-Hall's conclusion is that the churches are in a special position to understand and interpret this development in which they are also implicated and vitally challenged. Not only is their future existence at stake, but so is their mission to help non-Christians to keep a way of life that is grounded

<sup>1</sup> *In an Age of Revolution*, see *The National Newsletter*, No. 827, of May 29.



in respect for the human being. Instead of sounding uncertain trumpets, either of advance towards "just warfare" or of retreat to pure pacifism, the Churches should be deepening men's understanding of the cold war, as a revelation of the strife inherent in the predicament of man in the world. It is a strife that can be endured, redeemed and overcome only by the faith for which the Churches stand, and by the rule of justice and charity that they proclaim. They should renounce all interest in rearmament, even if they think it justified as a device to gain time, and direct their whole energy to the demonstration of their own message, by interpreting the truth of the situation which is the most discussed and the most distressing anxiety of our time. If they did this, he says, "they would find themselves in complete harmony with the most advanced thought in the Foreign Office and the Imperial Defence College on the subject of National Defence".

### *Some Practical Consequences*

More work of the kind this writer calls for has been done by Christians than he seems to realize (though admittedly too little) and the efforts to co-ordinate the Churches' contribution have raised a number of problems of which he may not be aware, nor can we now consider them. This aspect of the problem of peace does lay special responsibilities upon Christians, who still have, one can hardly doubt, more influence than any other minority upon general opinion. The most obvious responsibility is to avoid exacerbating feelings and to help in maintaining patience throughout the resentful and acrimonious negotiations by means of which the cold war is kept below the point of combustion, or at least localized where it bursts into flame. But there is another responsibility, that of maintaining firmness and integrity in support of decisions that have been responsibly made. The controversy about the Korean prisoners has shown how failure to recognize the character of the present conflict can weaken resolution by confusing

judgment. This particular kind of problem never assumed importance in previous wars because prisoners always wanted to go home ; and the United Nations' decision to give right of asylum to those who wanted it followed logically from their acceptance of a war that is also ostensibly a universal revolution. The decision was graver than any one realized, and its issue is complicated in Korea by previous gross mismanagement of the prisoners' camps, dispute about the *bona fides* of the recusant Communists, the fears of retaliation and of the sheer burden of having to accept prisoners as refugees in such huge numbers. These things call for investigation and appropriate action, but they are questions quite distinct from that of whether prisoners should be forcibly repatriated. That idea was rejected by the U.N., for reasons which remain as politically valid as they are humanly and morally sound. Agitation to reverse the decisions springs from various motives, including weariness of the Far Eastern commitment and disbelief in its strategic wisdom, but that again is another matter. Here as in other questions, discrimination between the moral and practical necessities, which is vitally important, depends on a grasp of the endemic nature of a struggle that we cannot contract out of, and will have lost if we give up the struggle to humanize it.

### *The Economic Emergency*

Mr. Churchill raised a cry of alarm at the Press Association luncheon on June 11 not only at the country's situation but at the public attitude towards it. He had "never seen a people looking better or more carefree", but did they realize the "treacherous trapdoor" on which their economy is standing? There is still an extraordinary reluctance in this country to face the fact that our national diet is low and declining and that there is no reason to expect any improvement until Britain raises a very great deal more food from its own soil. This had just been emphasized again by Mr. Amery and Sir George Schuster in a correspondence

in *The Times*, in which several subsequent contributors showed the customary inclination to sheer away from the point and discuss the more congenial idea of selling yet more manufactures to buy food abroad. There is a curious tendency, inherited from the free trade controversies of the past, to argue this question as though industrial export and an abundant home agriculture were mutually exclusive aims. Actually, nothing favours a nation's chances of excelling in the industrial field, other things being equal, so much as a full supply of home-grown food. North America is the outstanding example, and there is no experience to the contrary except Britain's for the brief period when it led the world in power-technics under conditions never likely to recur. Now that the whole world is developing industrially, countries that formerly exported food surpluses will not do so to the same extent or on the same terms, as we have seen to our cost in several cases. Moreover Western Europe is on the whole an importer of food, and a growing competitor for the diminishing world supplies. Our crowded country will for an indefinite future require very great imports of industrial materials that it cannot produce, and they will be harder to earn: to have to earn, in addition, half of the food that it could grow for itself can make the task impossible.

The Government has made a relatively bold attempt to face these realities by taking measures which, it is hoped, will raise the produce of agriculture by 60 per cent over that of 1938; but there is little sign of such a corresponding awakening of interest amongst economists, the intelligentsia and the general public as the emergency demands. As the Editor of *Rural Economy* is doubtless right in warning his readers, what subsidies, price-regulation and other financial measures can do is limited, if not also temporary. There are material as well as spiritual goods which do not come by putting money in the slot. The country would have to devote more brains and energy to the reclaiming of marginal land, for instance, than it now spends in sacrificing good

land to airfields, roads, open-cast mining and industrial development—and this implies an extensive, costly, and at first highly uncongenial redirection of energies, which would leave no class interests untouched. It is hard to agree that anything so disturbing can be really necessary. But if it is, the country is facing a problem that will otherwise solve itself and force us all to make a new beginning from a much lower level of livelihood.

### *A Task of Re-adaptation*

It is in the nature of man to be led by the success of his own inventions into more and more precarious ways of living. The now world-wide movement of multitudes of mankind into town and industrial life is a movement away from the biological realities of life, the result of one of those periods of brilliant achievement which also involve societies in unforeseen problems. At the same time, we are equipped with many new powers for solving problems in general. We have seen unprecedented means applied, for instance, to flood control in the U.S.A., and to the aridity of the steppes in Russia. In Britain the agricultural problems are very different, and we must not overestimate the use that can be made of power-techniques and chemistry devised for vastly different purposes. More important is the moral capacity for adaptation, the readiness to make new efforts in all the fields of activity that will be affected. For a free society to cope with such a problem has implications in education, politics, and in cultural matters. It might be defeated e.g., because the school books were too out-of-date. Still more so if the nation's churches, which are also organs of its intelligence, failed in understanding the necessity of the times.

During the late war, a group of Christian social and agricultural thinkers (whose foresight is now being alarmingly verified) was commissioned by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to help to prepare the mind of the Church of England throughout the country for the changes to



be expected in rural life. This body, the Council for the Church and Countryside, never attracted enough support to fulfil much of its mission, and its mandate has now been revoked. It is to be hoped that the urgency of the function it tried to fulfil will be borne in mind by the commission of the British Council of Churches which is shortly to review the whole question of the co-ordination of the special activities of the laity, and that this activity will be revived in a more efficient form.

## INTERIM

### Culture and Monopoly

The Government's "decision" about the B.B.C.'s charter—if decision is the right word—leaves everyone wondering what, if anything, will really follow in action. Parliament was made, half-unwillingly, to affirm something "in principle" without anyone knowing what it would mean in practice, and was partly persuaded by the assurance that it would not mean anything for a long while to come. It is questionable whether such a conclusion to a fairly prolonged and nation-wide debate is altogether dignified, or whether the Government would have forced the issue unless it was under severe pressure from persons on whose support it felt dependent. We do know, however, that this energetic "pressure-group" includes and represents many who feel convinced that it is definitely wrong for a new and powerful instrument of culture to be run by a monopoly. One is bound to respect a deeply held conviction: but the doctrinaire detestation of a word can easily obscure the real character of the problem to which it is applied. In this case, we are assured, it has prevented the disputants from properly estimating the extent to which our present system is actually monopolistic in effect. Nobody—certainly not the Government—is prepared to give broadcasting over to free-for-all competition, nor would that be technically feasible. The real question is whether the existing arrangements suppress valuable movements in thought and culture. If not, and no such indictment was proved or even seriously attempted, we are left with the abstract argument against monopoly: and this was supposed to be strong enough to carry a motion in favour of some unformulated alternative.

The importance of the motion is nevertheless clear. The other half of the minority which insisted on it consists of people who know very well what they want, and are now nearer to getting it. Later, when they have collected promises and capital enough to set up one or more rival television networks in the advertizing interest, Parliament will find it hard to withhold a charter which has already been conceded in principle. That was the very definite prospect which animated the debates of the Lords and of the Commons. All the heat was engendered between those who would like to have the advertizing interest admitted to—or rather intruded into—the firesides of the millions and those to whom it only conjures up imaginations of Brylcream before Beethoven and seven foaming Guinnesses on the television screen. The *Frontier* Editors' sympathies are with the latter, for reasons that were gone into in the May issue.

\* \* \* \*

### Think before you Look

As for the argument "Trust the people"—adduced by several speakers as a point in favour of turning the advertizers loose on the air—in such a context it is transparently bogus. The best speech for the Opposition, which was Mr. Morrison's, was a very sensible warning against too much broadcasting. Valuable as they are in moderation, looking and listening can easily become habit-forming indulgences and culturally narcotic. An engineer that Mr. Morrison mentioned had become, after a year and a half, so addicted to his television and auto-radiogram that he had given up radio-listening, the cinema and going out of an evening, and had resigned his seat on the town council! His case can hardly be typical, but the extent to which television crowds out reading and other leisure activities, some of them at least more conducive to active mental co-operation, is already well known. The commercial provision of television would no doubt increase the amount and seductiveness of it, as it has in the U.S.A., where, Mr. Morrison said:—

"In March this year it was stated in a report of the Federal communications Division in Washington that during a four-hour children's television show there were seen thirteen murders, four slug-gings, six kidnappings, five hold-ups, three explosions, three instances of blackmail and extortion, three thefts, two armed robberies, two cases of arson, one torture scene and one miscarriage. There were 104 gunshots in half an hour."

One need not assume that commercial sponsorship would provide the same fare for children in Britain. Temptation to excessive viewing would probably be increased, but that will be a problem in any case. A great boon of broadcasting, that no one need ever be alone, will become a bane if it produces too many people who cannot bear to be alone. How are we to train up the rising generation in critical intelligence and resistance to suggestion?

In a word that is continually soliciting our attention, with expert persuasiveness, to things which may have no relevance or value to us, this must be one of the serious concerns of every good teacher—how to train every pupil to think before he looks—or listens.

\*       \*       \*       \*

### War on Want

The Association for World Peace, a Labour Party organization, has published a booklet headed *War on Want*.<sup>1</sup> This gives an outline of the present food prospects of the world in handy form at a low price and deserves to be widely read. It is most useful on the factual side, as a summary of knowledge that is new and not elsewhere so easily available. The writer's conclusion is that the backward areas of the world need to have capital invested in them at a rate increasing to £5,000 millions a year if destitution is to be abolished; and they think this can only be done through a combined "International Development Authority" financed by the industrially advanced nations including Britain. There is an unanswerable case for such an effort, and for British participation in it, and it is well presented. World-authorities for world-betterment have perhaps lost their glamour of late years, but this policy need not depend upon setting up another one. If, however, we are to be serious about this undertaking, either nationally or as United Nations, the manifesto must be followed up by answers to one or two urgent questions that it does not investigate.

A British contribution of some £350 millions is envisaged, which would have to be chiefly made up of industrial equipment, chemicals and instruction. We should have to succeed where we have hitherto failed—in achieving a large export surplus—either by producing a good deal more or by consuming less imports, or by both. We could for

<sup>1</sup> *War on Want*: Published by the Association for World Peace, 14 Henrietta Street, W.C. 2. Price 1s.

instance produce more food, thus reducing our demands upon world food supplies. The poverty and destitution of backward countries are fundamentally due to lack of food ; given adequate nourishment, the peoples whom we think industrially backward often supply their industrial needs without " punching time ", do it efficiently if simply, and more beautifully than we do. Where their trouble is bad farming or soil destruction, they will learn better by example than precept.

\* \* \* \*

Europeans instructing Africans in more efficient agricultural methods—the Nigerian Agricultural Mission, for instance—find a very serious obstacle in the native's suspicion that he is being inveigled into the menial and inferior service of husbandry. There is a belief that the white man knows better himself than to live by raising food and is concerned to get that kind of work done for him by others. That is one of the first ideas to capture the imagination of the simpler peoples, when we make them, as we say, politically conscious.

War on want should begin, though not end, by better use of home resources, if only for the sake of example, which is so much more powerful than advice or even than the loan of expensive instruments. The great good that America has done to the U.S.S.R. is the example that was set by the Roosevelt-Wallace achievements in soil-salvage—an example now being followed on a great scale by Stalin, after the terrible errors of the first Bolsheviks, who were as ignorant of agriculture as Sidney Webb and, like him, concerned only with industrial-social relations.

\* \* \* \*

### **Hypnotism as Entertainment**

The Bill for the prohibition of stage demonstrations of hypnotism, which is being promoted by Dr. Somerville Hastings in the House of Commons, has been somewhat unaccountably whittled down in Committee and is now to apply only to stage experiments on subjects under twenty-one. The authors of the measure, which has strong medical support, are of course not concerned with its employment in medicine. Hypnotism has played an important part in some fields of psychosomatic research and few would want to outlaw its therapeutic use, controversial though it is. But its employment as light entertainment, if as unhealthy for the young as it has been shown to be, cannot



be good for the not-so-young. Its exploitation as amusement is poor fun and humanly objectionable, and since the vested interests concerned cannot be formidable, and there is no widespread or eager public demand for it, it could easily be made as obsolete as bear-baiting and would be as little missed.

## CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE WELFARE STATE<sup>1</sup>

SOCIETY is always sick, but it is not always structurally disordered. It is always sick because it is never free from division in human aims, discrepancies between central policies and personal goals; there are anglings for power and minor egoisms—in short there is plain human sin. This is but to say that human society is not the Kingdom of God. But society has its own recuperative impulses and powers; there is a self-healing principle which tends to bend policies, theories and behaviour, to abate conflicts, in order to serve human existence. Therefore the state of society is not to be judged merely by looking at either the forces of destruction or the forces of healing in it. We should consider the extent and rate of the two processes in comparison. Are the forces of growth or decline gaining the upper hand? A society is sound, as sound as any in a sinful world can be, when the positive social consciousness never lets the disruptive forces overpower it. And it is in decline, even with many aims of social health, when these are outrun by the forces of disintegration. In this case there is a structural disorder in addition to the dominion of sin and the counteracting impulses of social cohesion.

So when the Christian mind seeks to assess morally a social system or an experiment like the Welfare State, it must begin by distinguishing two different, though related,

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge on 3rd February, 1952.

Christian callings. The first and primary one is to bring men into the realm of grace, where the bond between them is *caritas* or *agape*, a replica of God's disinterested love for his creatures. The second is concern that, even among sinners and in the world outside the Church, there shall be that kind of balance of rights and duties among imperfect men by which they can live their secular lives to the fulfilment of their nature, without the supernatural heroism to be expected only of the saints. Suarez said, "The concern of the State is the natural happiness of the perfect human community of which the civil legislature has the care, and the happiness of individuals as members of such a community, that they may live together peaceably and justly, and with so much rectitude as is necessary for the external peace and happiness of the community and the continued preservation of human life", and T. S. Eliot defines a society acceptable to Christian judgment as "a society in which the natural end of man—virtue and well-being in community—is acknowledged for all, and the supernatural end—beatitude—for those who have eyes to see it". We are concerned here with this natural justice among sinful men. But Christians will not forget, even on this plane, that the recurring injustices in all societies and the repeated efforts of mankind to overcome them, represent man's alienation from God and his Kingdom and also a continual pull exercised by the reality of that kingdom, a pull which operates in man's being even when mostly he is not aware of its source or meaning.

I am insisting that both disruptive and constructive forces are at work in human society, apart from the ministry of grace which carries the supernatural and sacrificial love of God in Christ to the faithful believer. And therefore out of love for men, the Christian mind has the task of understanding these two natural forces in society; of fostering, where it can, those that make for healing, and of overcoming the destructive ones. How then does the Welfare State, as we know it under that name, look in the light of such a concern?

*The State in Biblical and Christian Thought*

The Welfare State is one kind of State, and the State is a device of mankind to which the Biblical and Christian insight has rightly taken an ambiguous attitude. It is both bad and good. Read the accounts of the institution of the Kingship in the first book of Samuel. The Lord says, as it were, it were better if you did not have to have this ; nevertheless if you must, so be it, I give it my warrant, but you will regret it. Or, Jotham's parable in the book of Judges where the only tree that will accept rulership over the other trees is the bramble—the bush which has not only its fruit but also its thorns. That is why no people is ever satisfied with its government. A state as such can be an instrument of order and justice in general ; it will always be felt by some to be unjust. We may say, speaking theologically, that the State exists because of sin, and itself often becomes infected with sin. It cannot operate by love, for love is directed concretely to this or that particular person in his total nature, and that is beyond the capacity of an institution ; Those who have envisaged a state moved by love picture a utopia that ignores the tragedy of man. On the other hand, if there were no standard of love by which the rough justice of the state can be judged and in that light always be seen as imperfect justice, then we would never escape the ideologies and tyrannies that regard their imperfect or alleged justice as responsible to no higher court.

There is another aspect of the theology of the State which it is useful to recall. It is that the State does not belong to man by creation, as do the family, the race, the local community, the division of labour—as between Adam delving and Eve spinning. Again, the State does not belong to the order of redemption, as the totalitarians believe. It belongs to the order of history ; it comes in when society transcends a merely tribal togetherness and makes a unity out of diverse peoples. Having no longer a merely tribal bond which is so close to nature, the larger society requires a central authority

for its preservation from divisive forces. Therefore we may say that the State belongs to man by divine providence at certain stages of his history, where the possibility of internal conflict is the price men pay for a wider and richer life than tribal organization allows. Its protective and preservative power in an imperfect world is thus under God—it represents the positive associative impulses of man counteracting the divisiveness of conflicting interests and wills. It stands for the link between man and God in the contradiction between man and God which Christians call sin. And the State is also liable to be captured by the sectional egoisms it exists to curb.

Theology distinguishes between the ultimate and the proximate will of God. For instance, physical health we may assume to be the ultimate will of God for man; so also the complete harmony of created wills. But for a sick or maimed human being there is his proximate will, that he should have medical help or a crutch. A crutch however is not the same as a good leg—nor is it necessarily a stage on the way to a live limb. But it represents the relative good in a defective condition. Medical treatment may or may not restore health; it aims when it is good at making itself unnecessary. The Divine will has both these forms. And what we should be asking about the Welfare State is whether the constrictions it imposes are the proximate will of God for us in our present situation—corresponding to the artificial leg which the maimed man must always use, or to the iron lung which will be discarded when health is restored.

### *What is a Welfare State?*

With these preliminaries let us consider the fact of the Welfare State. What do we mean by it? It means a State which undertakes by its central government not only protection and order, but also to administer some of the requirements of the good life—especially men's physical and educational needs. As we know it in this country, it pro-



vides all its citizens with some amenities, apart from what they buy with their money wage—partly out of the common purse through taxes, and partly through insurance spending some of their incomes for them. I would point out that it is only in industrial society that the money income earned in employment was regarded as the sole valid source of livelihood. In previous ages men had many resources outside their employment and many perquisites within it besides their money wage. The Welfare State aims at a measure of security for all and at a partial re-allocation of the communal wealth. It should be noticed that this welfare provision now operates alongside of two other things—it could exist without them—which are often confused with it. One is the imposing of a comprehensive design upon society—planning and direction of activities; the second—also separable from social services—is a radical re-distribution of economic power which tends to a certain rigidity, which varies the standards of living of different sections, controls rent and prices, and enforces rationing, subsidies and so forth. One may validly approve or disapprove of these things, without prejudice to basic social services or to the supplementation of earned income by community benefits.

### *A Deepening Social Consciousness*

In order to estimate morally the fact of the Social Service State we must come to a view of how it has arrived. Here there are two influences at work, which should be distinguished. The first is an enlargement of social consciousness and conscience which, after the dislocations of the free-enterprise era, demanded that men's livelihood and some cultural benefits should not be dependent entirely upon competitive income earning. This impulse, where it was most genuine, was critical not of inequality in general, but of that particular kind of inequality which early industrialism brought about, vast concentration of economic power on the one hand, and a property-less status-less proletariat on the other. This impulse represents a positive moral attitude

coming to expression in a period when the economic triumphs of the industrial age were won at the cost of colossal social dislocations, grave insecurity and widespread hardship. We could put down this enlargement and deepening of social consciousness to a valiant attempt to atone for and remedy the particular form of general human sinfulness which the economic age brought starkly to light. My own view is that the Christian mind must salute and approve of it. But this positive social impulse has often been misinterpreted. It is not a phase in social evolution by which mankind is growing out of primitive individualistic behaviour and recognizing an interdependence of which it was formerly ignorant, or which it had disregarded in the pursuit of private interests. No, it is rather that many saw, in the form which egoism took in developing industrialism, a dislocation of the natural social loyalties of previous ages. The welcome given to State responsibility was one sign that something had to take the place of the loyalties previously expressed in domestic cohesion, craft association, neighbourhood and a common religious culture. Whether State responsibility is or is not really a cure for the disintegration in these spheres, it represents a heave of the collective soul to find a substitute for them.

### *Welfare as Political Necessity*

But that is only half the story. The other half tells of the Welfare State as a political device to prevent the complete disruption of an industrial society suffering from many internal disorders—disorders which no modern policy has seriously attempted to cope with. They are still with us under the Welfare State and many of them appear to be growing, so that some critics of the Welfare State imagine it to be the cause of what it does not cure. Here a commentator cannot avoid giving interpretations which will appear controversial. Let me then try to emulate St. Paul and say: here it is I who speak, not the Lord, and my hearers must make their own judgment. I believe that

there are forces of disruption inherent in a certain stage of industrial society, at which it begins to show diminishing returns and a self-defeating principle. I believe that this industrial society of ours could get along very well with a free enterprise philosophy and practice so long as there was underneath it a strong fabric of natural community, with land to feed its population, loyalties other than mere economic bonds, and a faith to live by that was not confined to economic progress. In the nineteenth century these foundations, which are partly spontaneous creations and, in our western civilization, partly due to the moral and social tradition of Christendom—all these were assumed to be permanent parts of man's natural life, and to be with him always. They tended to crumble under the highly sophisticated achievement of a predominantly industrial and commercial pattern of life. Centralization of initiative and loss of individual moral responsibility, which appear to be galloping in the Welfare State, are tendencies which began in the period of free enterprise and market economy. The family deprived of its age-long functions, the withering of all incentives but those of monetary gain, the weakening of a sense of vocation in one's job—all this is old history now, and has something to do with industrialism having grown apace in a secularized society without any doctrine of the valid ends of human activity. The Welfare State cannot be blamed for these defects; it inherited them. Its sponsors and defenders may however be upbraided for imagining that State enactment can cure what is really a disorder in society, and for thereby encouraging, reluctantly perhaps, an increase in these ills.

*How else could we cure Insecurity?*

The Welfare State then is a necessary but defective political device to prevent society from crumbling under the chaos of productive relations, and of an atomized citizenship which has been deprived of all lesser loyalties and vital associations. It may be the wrong cure, but if so another

must be found. On my analysis, just as Hobbes' Leviathan was a conception to overcome the ravages of the Civil War, so the Welfare State is a conception to overcome the disintegration of Industrial Society. And it could not well be denied that the Welfare State has given to the mass of the population a kind of security, as a substitute for the status of which the exclusively economic bonds of the last two centuries deprived them. We may think it hastens the insecurity of society as a whole—but that is a matter for consideration elsewhere. There are other dangers. In the first influence of which I spoke, the growth of social conscience, there was a real concern to restore to the majority a basis for responsible living, a measure of economic security which is indispensable for initiative and a robust social initiative, and a concern to underpin the independence of the family. This was in line with what traditional Church teaching expressed as natural justice. Every man has a natural right to existence, to status and to a responsible function in society. The right to existence has been accorded by the Welfare State in provision of some of the family's physical necessities (though not in the matter of dwellings), while so much of our productive energy and material is given to such extravagances as civil aviation, television, and to a host of other expressions of our technical incontinence. The right to existence has been in a measure observed. But status—the condition of having roots somewhere, in a patch of earth and a community—that the Welfare State has not restored, except in the most abstract form of citizenship in an impersonal State. As to function—no modern society so far as I can see, free enterprise or socialist, has found the secret of giving to the mass of industrial workers what the original working-class idealist movements stood for—a field of responsibility in the concrete setting of man's life—mainly in his work and his home.

In the pre-industrial age men expressed what social consciousness they had in the smaller areas of life—the family, the region, the work association, the Church. These bonds

of craft, kinship, neighbourhood and creed were weakened and displaced by mainly economic relations—and the field of social responsibility then has to be narrowed and attenuated in the bare citizen-state relationship. This is too abstract a loyalty to move men. During the bombing of London anyone who could turn a hand to some sort of house building or repairs would patch up a dwelling for a neighbour without any thought of gain or prestige. The original community impulse came out on top in the crisis of war. The same men will not work all out when their occupation is part of the wages and hours contract; and when the good of the community as a whole—the only other incentive offered them—does not seem visually to them to have anything to do with the needs of their families or fellows in the concrete. I am saying that the Welfare State, intended as a basis of restored responsibility, is, in that respect, not a great success.

### *Moral Factors*

Now it is true that a Welfare State does become a moral State in the sense that by its allocation of resources it determines the ends of activities of its citizens and this—what Professor Hayek has been so alarmed about—can easily become the “Road to Serfdom”. But a non-moral State, existing merely for protection and order, like the liberal State of recent centuries—and a fine achievement it was—was possible only when it could count on a moral, cultural and social unity underneath it. When that foundation wears thin, then there is some inevitability about the State’s assuming omniscient and directive functions—its claiming to know better than the people themselves what is good for them. This attitude was once attributed to parties of the right; it has now become the attitude of the left. Added to this tendency is of course the danger of the growth of a vested interest in the social administrator, a temptation to which many professional workers are liable



—as the teacher to think of the young merely as the raw material of education, or the physician to consider the patient as a case, the parson to estimate his flock in terms merely of church fodder. This kind of professional bias is one which the Christian individual in his walk of life should be prepared to detect in himself and repent of.

### *Welfare and Christian Duty*

I have tried so far to present the fact of the Welfare State in a double aspect as a partly deliberate attempt to express a growing social conscience, and partly as a rather blind effort on the part of society and governments to preserve strength in an industrial situation with some serious contradictions. What then can the Christian man or woman do, accepting it as the *de facto* situation in which God has for the present set him or her.

There are two ways that Christians can take, one as possible participators in the social services, as public servants or as social service workers, and the other as Christian citizens. For the first, let us be quite clear that no organized state activity can cover and remedy all the tragedies and ills of human society. No government machine will ever be so perfect as to obviate the need for what used to be called, somewhat disparagingly, ambulance work. The need for personal help and guidance, felt by the wrecks of every human society, will always call for what has been offered by the voluntary social services, and this need will not disappear with any development of the Welfare State. Here is still a field for the living out of a Christian vocation—especially perhaps when it evokes a certain contempt from those who see salvation coming only by statutory measures. And then let no Christian man or woman think he or she has no way of expressing a love of man in the machinery of the statutory social organization itself. There is no sphere of life and work, however impersonal its machinery, in which an employee—if he has that intense concern for

persons which the love of God in Christ gives him—cannot convey that personal attitude to his clients and his co-workers. Of course there will be strains—and often a feeling that one's human qualities are stifled by the equipment. Often a bewilderment as to how to find a cleft in the impersonal structure of administration, through which to minister the concern of one human being for another. But that is not a dilemma peculiar to the Welfare State ; it confronts the intense personalism of Christianity as a challenge in all forms of large-scale organization. It is presented dramatically in Dorothy Sayers' *The Just Vengeance*, where the airman is in great moral bewilderment about the acceptability of his military and destructive duty before the throne of Christ. At the end of the play a number of personages appear with their offerings. The strong man offers his strength ; the harlot offers her shame. The airman asks : What shall I bring ? and Christ answers " You can bring the burden of perplexity, we shall meet each other in the darkest hour of all ".

" The burden of perplexity "—that will confront every Christian, at times, who seeks to carry his Christian vocation into that rough and imperfect mechanism of justice which the natural man fashions by the device of legislation and administration. In one sense, wherever we are is where God wants us to be. There must be an acceptance of the situation as it is ; then only can there also be protest in any constructive and healing form. Therefore, I say, there is a definite sphere of vocation for Christian workers in both voluntary and statutory social services. If it is undertaken with that mixture of acceptance and protest which the Christian has learnt to live with in almost any human situation, he will not be crushed in his soul by the things against which he has to protest ; nor will he slide into the apathy which deceives him into the attitude that all he can do in an unnatural situation is all he ought to be able to do in a more properly ordered society.

Lastly the Christian Community, in so far as it has a teaching mission for discriminating understanding of the true ends of human life and of the defects of every actual situation in relation thereto, has surely the task of interpreting the coming of the Welfare State and its dangers, in the way I have been suggesting. Christian moralists have been too liable to make an estimate of human nature from the ethos of the last two centuries, and to say that men are moved by only two impulses: either the pure self-regarding one which, in the social sphere, takes the form of gain—or else the supernatural and disinterested agape or love declared in the New Testament. But mankind has lived and survived by a great number of social motives in between these two: pride in doing a job, a sense of community, self-expression in serving one's fellows. These belong to the natural man along with the disruptive forces of bare egoism. It can then be part of the Christian's concern for the natural good of his fellows to want a social ordering which fosters these spontaneous social impulses—impulses which, though far short of love and the perfection of the saints, have led the human race over and over again to mend its own wreckage.

### *The Constructive Attitude*

Our large scale, technical and largely urbanized society has become so interlocked that its self-healing powers have become much weaker than in less tight and centralized communities. That is part of the frailty of all developed civilizations. When Christians concerned for the liberty and small scale responsibility of persons and minor associations, are alarmed at the threat to these things by the onward march of State power, they should remember that no mere resistance and protest to that power is constructive. The only constructive attitude is to attend to the cultural and community weakness of society, under the level of the State; and then to see what can be done even through

State enactment, to build up strength and responsibility in the smaller areas of life. Universities in receipt of state grants show that it is not impossible for the central government to pay the piper leaving the beneficiary to call its own tune.

We are called at this time, in the words of an important Church declaration :

“to nurse ourselves back into a condition in which we can recognize social health for what it is, and learn how to enjoy it by a new obedience to its laws. The recovery of health involves not only a capacity to recognize the normal, but a readiness to prepare for a return to it by such abnormal means as weakness imposes. It would perhaps help us to a better understanding of the significance of the apparatus of the Welfare State if we were to regard it in this light.”

V. A. DEMANT.

## AMERICAN PRESIDENTS AND PROTESTANT TYPES<sup>1</sup>

By ROBERT E. FITCH

**D**OES a man's denominational affiliation have anything to do with his behaviour as president of the United States? Most Americans would answer an emphatic "No!" and would even express shock at the very idea.

However, we are getting more realistic these days in our thinking about the relationship between religion and politics in our democracy. The latest book to give us a jog in this direction is James Hastings Nichols' *Democracy and the Churches*. With that should be linked Richard Niebuhr's already classic *Social Sources of Denominationalism*. These writings and others make it clear that, while we observe an institutional separation of church and state in this country, there is still an intimate interaction of persons, of principles, and of cultures.

Right now—with the single omission of Harding—I propose to examine the significance of the denominational affiliations of five presidents since World War I. This gives us: Woodrow Wilson, Presbyterian; Calvin Coolidge, Congregationalist; Herbert Hoover, Quaker; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Episcopalian; and Harry Truman, Baptist. And whatever the reader may think of my main thesis, let him not accuse me of prejudice in favour of my own sect, since I am frankly unhappy about my Congregationalist.

Woodrow Wilson was, I submit, the Calvinist genius at its best; the combination of intellectual discipline with austere moral idealism. He was one of our best instances of the scholar and the preacher in politics. His public discourses had the finely tooled precision and the chaste clarity and the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted, by the courtesy of the Editors, from *Christianity and Crisis*, a Bi-weekly Journal of Christian Opinion, published in New York.



power of a first-rate sermon. He was, moreover, a good Presbyterian in his sense for due process of law—in seeking the lawful occasion to go to war with Germany, in setting up the constitution of a League of Nations to forestall future wars. It was his lofty moral idealism that gave him popular strength, in its appeal to the residual puritan in the American character. But it was the austerity of his ideal plus the austerity of his intellect that finally brought him to failure as a practical politician. Woodrow Wilson, scholar and moralist, always understood right principles. He did not always understand persons.

(In passing let us take note of another good Presbyterian in politics—Norman Thomas, who illustrates the same combination of intellectual discipline and austere moral idealism. This is the man that William Adams Brown used to speak of as the best student he had ever had in systematic theology. Both in Wilson and in Thomas, for all their modernism, there is a core of tough Calvinist literalism which insists that the gospel have concrete embodiment in social institutions.)

If we ignore the tragic interlude under Harding, it might be said that the country was glad to turn from the ardours of Presbyterian discipline to the delights of Congregationalist laissez-faire under Coolidge. If Congregationalist church polity means an extreme emphasis on local autonomy, while the chief executive becomes little more than a spiritual symbol, then Coolidge was its perfect exemplar in the realm of politics. Indeed, one might think of him as a kind of Congregationalist moderator of the U.S.A.—a glorified *roi-fainéant*, famous for his oracular and pithy utterances, and famous also for resolutely refusing to do anything about anything, on principle. If like the British we had wanted a king to give ceremonial expression to our cultural aspirations, then this was our man. But if we were looking for a prime minister, or a president, or an executive of any sort, then we had blundered badly.

Herbert Hoover, the Quaker, was a man of vastly greater stature than his predecessor. But I submit that he illustrates

the characteristic Quaker ineptitude in the field of political action. This ineptitude has two sources. For one thing, the genius of the Friends is a genius for working with small groups, where personal and face-to-face relations are primary. In such a group, under religious discipline, there may be a spontaneous feeling of unity in a common purpose, and it is possible, without calling for a vote, to declare the "sense of the meeting". But the conglomerate mass of the American people, except in a great crisis, has no spontaneous sense of unity, and the American congress has no resemblance to a Quaker meeting. The appeal to reason, to piety, and to the inward light is no strategy for the political arena.

In the second place the Quaker is a perfectionist. Once again this is a permissible ideal with the individual and with the small group. It is also permissible, to a degree, in business administration and in the reorganization of government bureaux, to which Hoover brought a kind of secularized perfectionism in the name of "scientific engineering". But it will never do in the field of political action, where one must act imperfectly in the light of incomplete data. The tragic consequence of Hoover's perfectionism as president of the United States is symbolized in the monumental report on *Recent Social Trends* which he initiated. There were only two things wrong with the report. By the time it came out Mr. Hoover was no longer president to act on its findings. By the time it came out, our domestic circumstances had already changed so radically that the findings were outdated and irrelevant. Unlike Calvin Coolidge, Mr. Hoover did wish to act; but, since he was determined on perfection in action, then like Mr. Coolidge he did not act at all.

Wilson, Coolidge, and Hoover all belong to some sort of rationalist pattern. The Calvinist, whether Presbyterian or Congregationalist, and the latter-day Quaker, are pre-eminently men of reason. Let us turn, then, to something more subtle and flexible than reason, namely, intelligence; to something more swift and more decisive than logic, namely,

intuition, good judgment, and imagination. This gives us our Episcopalian, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There are two things to be noted here about F. D. R. First of all he was the Tory Socialist in a grand tradition that went way back to the Anglican mother country. He was the country squire who espoused the cause of the common people against the exploiting capitalists. He combined the aristocrat by birth and breeding and bearing with the true democrat in social action. He was at all times the gentleman, and he was at all times the sincere humanitarian.

In the second place he had a proper Episcopalian contempt for mere logical consistency. He was not the scholar nor the intellectual; he was the leader of men. If his reasons and his principles were not always as precise as they should have been, it is because he moved in the ampler context of tradition, of history, and of destiny. His good judgement may not have always been good, and his imagination may have run away with him at times. But he understood crisis and he understood action, and he thrived on them. Far from being devoted to rational order, he took an Episcopalian delight in juggling incompatibles—in his personal followers, and yet managed to make them work like a team; in his political policies, and yet compelled them to come out to some sort of coherent consequence.

Roosevelt, the Episcopalian, was the people's man, but Harry Truman, the Baptist, is a man *of* the people. There is nothing of the aristocrat in Truman to rise above the solid foundation of his democratic character. Like his own church he is closer to the plain folk of America—both rural and urban—than any of his predecessors in this study. He shares the feelings of the people, he talks the language of the people, and he shows the unexpected strength of the common people in doing battle with the foe, either at home or abroad.

In the one essential—the passion for civil rights and liberties—he is the true heir of Roger Williams. For this principle he will split his own party, and yet win an election. For this

principle he will hold stubbornly to freedom of speech and association, even when his veto of restrictive legislation is overwhelmingly over-ridden by Congress, and even when he is warned that to take such a stand will endanger his re-election. On this one point he knows what is right, and he is as wanton in the exercise of a private license of free speech, as he is valiant in the defence of a public privilege of civil liberties.

But what of the rest of his social ethics? In what I say next, I am not forgetting that Rauschenbusch was a Baptist; but he is a more or less solitary figure in the tradition of his church. The fact is that, apart from civil liberties and the separation of church and state, the Baptists have no coherent nor continuous tradition of Christian social ethics. The good Baptist, then, has to turn to secular sources for this part of his programme. What Harry Truman found lying around, ready to hand, was the New Deal. And even though he was something of a conservative by temperament, he appropriated this New Deal and adapted it to his own purposes as the Fair Deal. Certainly there is nothing peculiarly Baptist about either Deal. But the Baptist is at liberty to pick up the one or the other if it looks to him like a good deal.

At this point, somewhat abruptly, I choose to terminate the analysis. It is easier to be wise in retrospect than in prospect. But I do find it surprising how true to type in politics may be a good Presbyterian, a good Congregationalist, a good Quaker, a good evangelical Episcopalian, a good Baptist. And it is astonishing that for almost forty years our Presidents have run true to their denominational patterns.

But let no one draw any premature conclusions. There is no guarantee that a Baptist will always be a *good* Baptist, or that an Episcopalian will always be a *good* Episcopalian. Governor Dewey belongs to the same church as did Franklin D. Roosevelt, but I see no resemblance between the political characters and methods of the two men. Furthermore, in these ecumenical times, when the old barriers are falling and

the old distinctions are failing, our patterns are apt to be more mixed than pure. Nor does this study provide any conclusive evidence that one denominational type makes a better chief executive than another. Of democracy itself, as of the character of its leaders, let us remember that, while there may be only one spirit, there is room for a great diversity of gifts, and that, as occasions vary, it is in order to alternate these gifts in the position of political pre-eminence.

## EUROPEANS IN S. RHODESIA

THE values of most of the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia differ in no significant manner from those of natives of the British Isles. They are as God-fearing as citizens of the United Kingdom, and have a very deep love for their Queen and a strong affection for their present homeland. The depth of the Colony's loyalty to the Crown, and the strength of the people's pride in their British descent, are most marked. In three wars Southern Rhodesians have shown great willingness to make sacrifices for the Commonwealth, and there is, indeed, much to support the claim that in World War II the Colony was compelled to introduce conscription simply to keep sufficient men at home to operate essential productive and other services.

White Rhodesians also take great pride in characteristic British institutions; few people could, in fact, be more jealous of traditional parliamentary and judicial processes which have matured in Britain. Transferred to Australia, Canada or New Zealand, Southern Rhodesians would provide a welcome addition to the populations of those Dominions; they would be an invaluable source of strength to South Africa in the present constitutional crisis; and, if transplanted to the United Kingdom, they would, reasonably soon, merge imperceptibly into the population of these



islands. Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and men, women and children of other denominations would find no difficulty in joining British congregations. Their clergy would scarcely be distinguishable from the clergy of this country, although some individuals might, as a result of their experience, be more outspoken on the need for taking practical steps to combat race prejudice wherever it appears. Doctors, lawyers, teachers and other professional laymen would not be faced with any serious problems of adjustment, while people from other occupational groups would in time settle down in the British environment.

Viewing Southern Rhodesia from the perspective of London one sees, more clearly perhaps, how closely the small European population of the Colony would resemble the electorate say of any large, mixed urban and rural constituency in the United Kingdom. If given representation at Westminster the Member for Southern Rhodesia would certainly be Conservative, but, for the rest, the views of his constituents would correspond fairly closely with those of his fellow-Members who represented local British constituencies. Included among the people of all these constituencies there would certainly be some with strong race and other prejudices ; there would also be a small thoughtful and self-critical group ; but the majority would be kindly individuals not much given to analytical or critical reflection about human relations or complex problems of national and international importance. The children, again, would receive much the same upbringing, their religious instruction and formal education would differ relatively little in content.

The above facts seem worth stating because from the tone of many judgements of Southern Rhodesia it would seem that condemnations are directed as much against the European people, as such, as against their policies and practices in respect of the tribal, semi-tribal and Westernized Africans for whose good government they are primarily responsible. The points of similarity between the metro-

politan and overseas groups certainly cannot be taken to justify racially discriminatory laws and practices which deny or restrict the opportunities of Christian and non-Christian Africans, but recognition of the fact that the above-mentioned similarities do exist will perhaps help to promote more enlightened, more constructive, and, may one say, less self-righteous, criticism of people who live in a radically different social environment to which they have not yet succeeded in adapting themselves. In fairness to White Southern Rhodesians, and in support of the comparisons made above, it also seems necessary to add that the race attitudes and overt inter-racial behaviour of the majority of newly-arrived immigrants from the United Kingdom do not appear to differ significantly from the typical attitudes and behaviour patterns of white residents of long-standing. It is, in fact, often from the residents with deeper roots in Rhodesia that the most convinced and stable "liberals" have emerged.

To me it seems regrettable but true that Home, Church, State and School, in Britain and British Africa have not as yet succeeded in preparing adults and children for understanding the outlook and behaviour of people of different race and culture, nor have they done enough to assist individuals to achieve satisfactory relationships with Africans, and with individuals of other ethnic groups from the Commonwealth and the world at large. The assumption that the process of grounding individuals in moral codes is sufficient in itself, without making adequate reference to concrete, relevant social situations, would seem to be questionable in relatively homogeneous societies and highly dangerous in heterogeneous societies. It is disturbing to see how blindly ethnocentric some very worthy European Christians in Africa can be; avoidable damage to race relations has been caused by a simple lack of awareness on the part of clergy and parishioners who do not otherwise lack sympathy, intelligence and charity. In fact it would seem generally true that although the British people are

extraordinarily good in governing tribal peoples they tend to fail in their personal dealings with the Westernized and semi-Westernized individuals who constitute the leadership groups in the British overseas territories. Among a people so advanced in the art of government, and so incorruptible and just in their day-to-day administrative work, it seems an unfortunate weakness.

Having made the above observations one is possibly justified in dealing very briefly with the race-relations situation within Southern Rhodesia, and the outlook of most of the Europeans of the Colony on Central African Federation. There seems to be no real need to comment on the discriminatory laws and practices to which Africans legitimately object; nor does it seem necessary to indicate the general benefit to the Colony of the Christian Faith, efficient government, Western knowledge and techniques.

Taking for granted that these facts are known it may be said that although much very good work has been done *for* Africans in Southern Rhodesia, too little has been done *with* Africans. It is also true that most Europeans uncritically accept a master-servant or parent-child relationship with Africans as the natural form of relationship. Understandable, if not excusable, with illiterate tribal Africans, the Parent-Master approach of Europeans arouses the keenest resentment among educated or Westernized Africans. Until European attitudes are radically changed "Partnership" will remain a word. With important, individual exceptions it must be said that frank, co-operative inter-racial endeavour has scarcely begun in Southern Rhodesia. The fact that a small number of Africans are on the common voters' roll, that a few have made considerable economic progress and that some Africans occupy responsible posts does not invalidate the above conclusion. Until African and European voters can meet freely to discuss political matters of common concern the common franchise rights which they enjoy cannot fulfil their undoubtedly valuable function.

Few Europeans have given serious thought to the Federation question. A small number have studied the available documents but even among well-read people there seems to be little appreciation of the central issues. Political leaders have given expression to their fears of Afrikaner nationalism on the one hand, and of African nationalism on the other, which most Europeans seem to share. It is appropriate here to say that for the purposes of this outline it was not thought necessary to dwell on the Dutch Reformed Church or the position of Afrikaans-speaking White Rhodesians. The latter are a minority group among whom there are differences in outlook on Britain and race relations. There are liberal or non-racial Afrikaners, there are descendants of the early Pioneers who think of themselves as Rhodesians first, and there are Afrikaner-Nationalists who support *apartheid* and who look to South Africa for political leadership. It is this last-mentioned group who arouse fears among the majority of English-speaking Whites, but it is necessary to add that their race attitudes can scarcely be distinguished from the few self-styled "pukkah British" individuals who support the White Rhodesian Council, an organization which has done much to strengthen the fears of Africans in the Northern Territories about any form of closer association with Southern Rhodesia. That economic advantages will flow from Federation also seems to be accepted by the majority of Europeans although few could describe the advantages with any precision. Most important as a motive would seem to be the real, if vague, desire for a "Greater Rhodesia", with full Dominion status, and freedom from any United Kingdom control of Native policy. Pride and prestige rather than pugnacity and predatory economics appear to provide the mainsprings of public thinking on the Federation question.

To conclude this fragment I must express agreement both with the facts, and the convictions underlying the Rev. R. K. Orchard's excellent article on Central African Federation

which appeared in the May *Frontier*. I would also express appreciation of the spirit in which the Editors approach the fundamental problem of achieving concord in multi-racial societies in Africa. Only Christian love and understanding can enable the peoples of the continent to solve the very real problems which challenge them to-day.

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